15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

which I described previously, where a man brings his secondary wives to his first wife's house in which he is acting as the head. Furthermore, sororal polygyny is prohibited, while it was prefered among the Garo in terms of wives taken from the same *mahari*, though mostly not real sisters. The strong jealousy, which I observed, among the Khasi wives of a polygynist, would appear to make such polygynous marriages with closely related women practically impossible. As shown in List 6 & 9 every single one of the wives of each polygynist belongs to different *kur*, and the two secondary wives of the man of Kongton came from neighbouring villages.

These aspects of Khasi polygyny are related fundamentally to the underlying Khasi social structure. It should be remembered that every married woman has her independent household, *iing*, and that two women of different descent groups never reside together (see p. 127). The picture is one of every married woman holding a key-point in the whole network of the social system, and men fit into this network with much flexibility. The strong stability of women and the fluid nature of men in terms of residence naturally produces this form of polygyny. This analogy is also true of lovers' relations and illegal marriages. Though polygyny is a rapidly decreasing institution all over the Khasi Hills, cases of lovers' relations and illegal marriages are found to be very numerous among the Khasi, as compared with neighbouring tribes and peoples in Assam.

Throughout my discussions of various forms of Khasi marriage, I found men to be more or less in the position wittily described by one of them as "having one leg in my sister's house, the other in my wife's," except in cases of the husband/father who succeds in establishing paternal authority, as in marriages with a non-heiress. Even in the latter a man might have a period of uncertainty until his children were born and until the economic basis for his matrimonial life was firmly established. For the rest, Khasi men would be in the position of either becoming the authority of an *iing*, or swinging between their sister and their wife, which may produce more opportunities for lovers' relations. One of a man's legs is certainly always found in his sister's house, the other may rest in his wife's, but it may also rest in another woman's house. The wife being rather accustomed to his occasional absence due to his visits to his sister's house, another kind of absence does not mark any great change from the usual situation, at least not physically. Such situations occur particularly in the earlier stage of the marriage, as a sort of continuation of premarital affairs, which are quite freely practised: it is a usual custom before marriage for young men to sleep at a girl's house whom they like though they say sexual intercourse usually does not take place in such cases. This I observed in Sohkynduh and Kongton.

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

any man other than their husband. Women before marriage enjoy a considerable freedom in love affairs, but once married these are no longer tolerated. Women should be faithful wives. They should be so in order to keep their husbands who have a strong tendency to leave their wives. The husband of a woman who has an affair with another man, will never come back to her. There is no attraction to draw the husband, who has home at his sister's, to his wife's house unless she is good and charming. Such Gurdon's remarks as "There is no evidence to show that polyandry ever existed among the Khasis. Unlike the Tibetans, the Khasi women seem to have contented themselves always with one husband, at any rate with one at a time" (Gurdon, 1914, p. 77), is utterly nonsense: a Khasi woman is placed in a situation which is not easy to monopolize even one husband. Moreover, the Khasi social organization in general does not accord to the practice of polyandry.

[P. 140 is blank]

to McCormack E-4.5 (1956-1958) 1964
AR7 Khasi AR7

[P. 109 B]

ning from the time it consists of an elementary family until it grows to a local descent group four generations deep. [Cf. Chattopadhyay 1941.] Kin terminology. The terms of address given below are also terms of reference except where otherwise indicated, and are uniform for male and female speakers. They were collected in an upland Khasi village near Shillong (cf. Ehrenfels 1955) for some regional variants.

Fa	*pa*
Mo	*mei*
FaElBr	*pasem*
FaYoBr	*pakhynnah*
FaSi	*kha*
Fa youngest Si	*khadduh*
MoElSi	*meisem*
MoYoSi	*meinah*
Mo youngest Si	*maiduh*
MoElBr	*mama, kni*
MoYoBr	*kuh* (ref.: *kni*)
ElBr	*kuh khynnah*
Eldest Br	*kong kuh*
YoBr	*kuh dong*
Youngest Br	*kuh duh*
ElSi	*dong*
Eldest Si	*kud, kong*
YoSi	*kud nah, kud ne*
Youngest Si	*khadduh*
MoSiSo, MoSiDa	*paru* (ref.: *paru or kmai*)
FaBrSo, FaBrDa	*paru* (ref.: *paruikha*)
MoBrSo, MoBrDa, FaSiSo, FaSiDa	*kaikha*

MARRIAGE AND FAMILY. *Mode.* According to the traditional courtship pattern, a group of young male relatives and friends made nightly visits to the house of some virgin girl in another village, appraising her through banter while she and her parents appraised them, and staying the night to avoid the dark walk home. Marriage was according to the wishes of the parents after negotiation by a go-between from the boy's side. Girls might be 15, and boys 17, years of age. Girls have now acquired freedom of movement through attending school, however. Premarital sexual play is common, and young people choose their own spouses when the girl is about 19 and the boy 21. The most common mode of marriage is elopement, for Christians and non-Christians alike, but some Christians marry in church, and some Khasis still marry according to the traditional ceremony or some variation on it. There are no preferred or prescribed marriage types, nor is there a bride price or dowry. *Form.* Monogamy is the ideal for all. *Extension of incest taboos.* Sibs are exogamous. Other prohibited marriage partners are real and classificatory FaSi and FaBr. FaBrCh, FaMo, and FaMoMo. The MoBrWi is also prohibited. Boy